



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE THREE DUTIES OF CIVILIZATION

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

THERE are three duties before the civilized world to-day more important and more pressing than any other. These are, first, to keep the United States out of this war, this hideous "brawl in the dark," and to hold it steadily on the basis of law. To be neutral is to be law-abiding, while nations at war, whatever the merits of the original cause, are lawless and insane.

The second duty is to stop the killing whenever we can. The nations are bleeding to death. The curse of victory can come to none of them, while the curse of defeat is already on them all. It is not clear how we can stop the killing, but the call of duty to America is to leave no stone unturned in the hope to accomplish this result.

The final duty of all good men is to unite to see that, whatever the result, the catastrophe cannot happen again. To this end all students have agreed on the main features—the end of preparedness for war; the limitation of control by autocracies and aristocracies of the means of declaring war; the limitation of exploitation; the curbing of empire; the freedom of the seas; the abolition of rights of conquest and of indemnities;

the opening of the channels of trade, leaving none as private property of king or nation. Some or all of these must come in time.

Meanwhile the armaments of Europe will be limited by their people's abject poverty, and the placing of moderate obstacles in the way of declarations of war would give the peace-loving world the time to impose its certain veto.

The next fifty years will mark the most intense struggle in Europe—bloodless, we hope—since the Reformation. It will appear as a conflict for supremacy between force and law, between militarism and civilism. At bottom it is, however, the age-long strife between privilege and freedom, between tradition, inheritance, and divine right, and the still older and more divine right of manhood to be free.

As to the final issue there can be no doubt. God is not mocked forever. But in the present issue freedom has need of all its friends. Its Pymys and Hampdens, its Washingtons and Franklins, are not wanted on the field of battle, but in the larger and intenser conflict waged with the freeman's weapon—the ballot, not the sword.

THE WAR IN EUROPE AND ITS LESSONS FOR US

By WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

Mr. Bryan has been speaking on the war question for many weeks. He has sent us this copy of his address with the permission that we print it in these columns. The logic, sincerity, and high purpose of the author will help every right-thinking American in this time of storm and stress.—THE EDITOR.

I

THE WAR AND ITS INJURY TO NEUTRALS

NO MATTER by what standard you measure this war, it is without precedent or parallel. I will not call it the *greatest* war in history, for the word great implies something more than bigness. When we speak of a great institution or a great movement, we have in mind something more than mere size. There have been, I think, greater wars than this, but none that approached it in bigness. It is the biggest war ever known if we measure it by the population of the nations at war—never before have so many people lived in belligerent nations. It is also the biggest war of which history tells if we measure it by the number of enlisted men who face each other upon its many battlefields. The estimates run from twenty-one to thirty-one millions. Rather than risk exaggeration, let us take the lowest estimate; it is sufficient to make the war impressive. In fact, the number is so great that the mind can scarcely comprehend it. Let me translate it into every-day language by comparing it with our voting population. We have never cast as many as twenty-one million votes at an election. That

means that if all in every State who have on a single day exercised the right of suffrage could be gathered together in one place, the concourse, vast as it would be, would fall several millions short of the number now actually engaged in fighting.

More than two million have been wounded thus far. If on any part of the globe one hundred thousand persons were swept to death by pestilence, or flood, or famine, the world would stand appalled; and yet, in a little more than a year, more than twenty times one hundred thousand have been summoned to meet their God, and every one owes his death to the deliberate intent and act of a fellowman. More than five million have been wounded; this will give you some idea of the awful toll that this awful war is exacting in life and suffering.

If we measure the war by the destructiveness of the implements employed, nothing so horrible has ever been known before. They used to be content to use the earth's surface for the maneuvers of war, but now they have taken possession of the air, and thunderbolts more deadly than the thunderbolts of Jove fall as if from the clouds on unsuspecting people. And they have taken possession of the ocean's depths as well, and death-dealing torpedoes rise from out the darkness to multiply the perils of the sea. They have substituted a long-range rifle for a short-range rifle, a big-mouthed gun for a little-mouthed gun, a dreadnought for a battleship, and a super-dreadnought for a dreadnought, to which they have added the submarine; and they now pour liquid